

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

Under the unanimous-consent agreement, the vote on the pending amendment is scheduled to occur at 1 p.m. There will be other speakers on this matter, but they are not available just now.

With the understanding that the matter has been cleared with the leadership on both sides, and that it is agreeable to them, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now take a recess, subject to the call of the Chair, but in any event not to extend later than 12:15 p.m. today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Mississippi? The Chair hearing none, the Senate will stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair, to reconvene not later than 12:15 p.m.

Whereupon, at 11:41 a.m., the Senate took a recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

The Senate reassembled at 12:03 p.m., when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. BENTSON).

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, the Pastore rule of germaneness having been waived for today, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. PROXMIER) be recognized for not to exceed 5 minutes on two non-german subjects, the time to be equally divided between the two sides.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BENTSON). Without objection, the Senator from Wisconsin is recognized.

SHORTEST MISSILE GAP IN HISTORY

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, we have just witnessed the shortest missile gap in history.

In mid-April, Secretary Laird and Senator Jackson issued a series of "scare 'em" statements based on the fact that the Russians had dug 40 new holes in the ground.

On the wholly unproven assumption that these holes were designed for the huge new 25-megaton SS-9 missiles, Secretary Laird told us that—

The U.S. may be moving towards a second-rate strategic position.

Senator JACKSON charged that—

The overall strategic balance may be tilting in Moscow's favor.

I said at the time that this was a new round of the annual "scare 'em" propaganda and that, when one considers the facts and the paucity of data, these were highly exaggerated, and even semi-hysterical, conclusions. I said that every

year, just when the crocuses push through the winter soil and the forsythia and dogwood burst into bloom, one can predict a new round of speeches based on selected intelligence data telling us that the Russians are 10 feet tall.

While the Soviets had dug new holes in the ground, there was no hard evidence that they had tested an MIRV or deployed the SS-9 missiles in the holes.

Now the facts are out. The New York Times reports today that—

The Central Intelligence Agency concluded that at least two-thirds of the large new silo holes recently detected in the Soviet Union were intended for the relatively small SS-11 intercontinental missile and not for a large new weapon as the Defense Department has suggested.

The source was Senate Republicans who were informed of the CIA assessment by non-Government arms control experts who were briefed by the intelligence agency.

The strategic balance did not "tilt." We have not become a second-rate power.

In a month, without the U.S. lifting a finger or spending a dime, this missile gap was closed. The "scare 'em" technique boomeranged.

The lesson is clear. The practice of selective disclosure of partially analyzed intelligence data by the Pentagon and its allies should stop. Congress and the American public must not be swept off their feet by leaks designed merely to propagandize for a bigger and fatter military budget.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the New York Times article to which I referred inserted in the Record at this point in full.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

CIA SAID TO DOUBT PENTAGON'S VIEW ON MISSILE THREAT—SENATE GOP SOURCES SAY AGENCY THINKS SOVIET SILOS ARE FOR EXISTING ARMS—PROTECTIVE STEP SEEN—MOSCOW IS BELIEVED TO BE "HARDENING" INSTALLATIONS FOR ITS SS-11'S

(By John W. Finney)

WASHINGTON, May 25.—Senate Republican sources reported today that the Central Intelligence Agency concluded that at least two-thirds of the large new silo holes recently detected in the Soviet Union were intended for the relatively small SS-11 intercontinental missile and not for a large new weapon as the Defense Department has suggested.

This assessment casts a different light on Moscow's strategic intentions at a crucial time in the negotiations with the Soviet Union to achieve some limitation on defensive and offensive strategic weapons.

It now appears to some arms control specialists that the Soviet Union, rather than seeking to achieve a first-strike capability against the United States with large new missiles, is following the American course of trying to protect its missiles against attack with "hardened" silos.

SIXTY NEW SILOS DETECTED

Some 60 large new missile silos in the Soviet Union have been detected in recent months by means of reconnaissance satellites. The C.I.A. was said to have concluded that at least two-thirds were intended for the SS-11 intercontinental missile, which is comparable to the Minuteman ICBM of the United States.

Some non-Government sources with ac-

cess to Central Intelligence Agency information said that all but 15 of the new holes were situated in existing SS-11 missile fields.

The Senate Republican sources said they had been informed of the C.I.A. assessment by non-Governmental arms control experts who earlier had been briefed by the intelligence agency. These sources declined to be identified by name.

The Defense Department declined today to comment on the reported C.I.A. assessment because, as a department spokesman put it, "We would not have any comment on a speculative report like that."

But the spokesman said the department still held to the interpretation that the Soviet Union was deploying a modified version of its large SS-9 intercontinental missile or an entirely new missile system.

Much of the concern and speculation over the intended purpose for the new silos has sprung from their unusual size.

According to data obtained by the satellites, the holes were larger than those that had previously been dug for the SS-9, a large intercontinental missile that Defense Department officials have suggested the Soviet Union may be deploying as a "first strike" weapon against the United States's Minuteman force. This in turn gave rise to official speculation that the Soviet Union was planning to deploy an improved version of the SS-9 or perhaps an even larger, more powerful weapon.

Senator Henry M. Jackson, who first disclosed the detection of the new silo holes on a national television program March 7, said at the time that "the Russians are now in the process of deploying a new generation, an advanced generation of offensive systems." The Washington Democrat, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, described the development as "ominous indeed."

The Defense Department took a somewhat more cautious interpretation, saying that it had detected new ICBM construction but was not sure what the Soviet Union's intentions were.

But in a television appearance on March 10, Melvin R. Laird, the Secretary of Defense, said that the silo construction "confirms the fact that the Soviet Union is going forward with construction of a large missile system."

"We cannot tell at this time whether it is a modified version of the SS-9 . . . or whether it is an entirely new missile system," he said.

SECRETARY GIVES WARNING

Then, in speech April 22 before the American Newspaper Publishers Association, Mr. Laird said the United States had fresh intelligence information "confirming the sobering fact that the Soviet Union is involved in a new—and apparently extensive—ICBM construction program."

He warned that if this Soviet missile build-up continued, the Defense Department might find it necessary to seek a supplementary appropriation for more strategic weapons.

Last week, Administration officials were reported to have said that the Soviet Union was pressing ahead with its new missile program so rapidly that test firings of an improved SS-9 or an entirely new and larger missile were expected by this summer.

On the basis of new intelligence information, the C.I.A. was said today to have concluded that the larger holes could be explained not by a Soviet move to a larger missile but by an engineering step intended to protect the existing Soviet missile force.

According to the intelligence agency's analysis, the larger holes can be explained as an effort to "harden the silos by emplacement of a concrete shell around them, to protect the weapons against the blast effects or a nuclear explosion. The larger hole is required to accommodate the concrete liners, according to the C.I.A. analysis."

May 20, 1971

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- SENATE

S 7811

**BANKING COMMITTEE EMPLOYEES
RETIRE**

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I would not want the occasion to go by without commenting briefly about the retirement of two faithful and longtime employees of the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs. I refer to Mrs. Caro MacNeill Pugh and Mr. Charles L. Egenroad who will retire from the committee staff--and thus as employees of the Senate--at the end of this month.

CARO MACNEILL PUGH

On May 31, 1971, Caro Pugh will return to her native State of North Carolina and thereby will terminate a 30-year career of Federal employment. Except for 1 year when Caro was employed by the Home Owners Loan Corporation, her entire Federal service has been with the U.S. Senate. Caro came to the Senate in 1942. In 1945 she worked for a short while for the Senator from her home State, former Senator Josiah William Bailey, of North Carolina. In 1947 she joined the then Banking and Currency Committee staff as a clerical assistant where she has continued her employment with the Senate.

During her tenure with the committee and with the Senate, Caro has carried out her duties in a fashion which exemplifies the highest tradition of the Senate and the committee, and in turn we have benefited and have been enriched by her enthusiastic, dedicated, and conscientious work.

Indeed, we shall miss Caro Pugh around the committee and around the Senate, and we express our gratitude to her. We wish her the very best in her future and for her happiness.

Just in passing, I might comment that Caro has served the committee under six chairmen. To some degree that is quite a feat in itself. She served under the chairmanship of former Senator Charles W. Tobey, of New Hampshire; former Senator Burnett R. Maybank, of South Carolina; former Senator Homer E. Capehart, of Indiana; Senator J. W. Fulbright, of Arkansas; former Senator A. Willis Robertson, of Virginia; and the present chairman of the committee, the position in which I have the honor to serve.

CHARLES L. EGENROAD

On May 31, 1971, Charles Egenroad will retire, terminating 21 years of Federal service. Charlie commenced his career in the Senate in 1947 with former Senator Homer E. Capehart, of Indiana. He served in progressively important positions in Senator Capehart's office and was administrative assistant to Senator Capehart in 1955 when Charlie left Senate service for a position in the private enterprise sector. Charlie returned to the Hill in 1958, joining the then Banking and Currency Committee staff as a professional staff member.

During Charlie's service on the committee he carried out his duties in a way that exemplifies the highest tradition of the Senate and our committee. He has always worked very diligently, and members of the committee, as well as the Senate, have benefited from his advice

and counsel over the years during which he has served us.

Naturally, we hate to see Charlie leave, but we understand his desire to retire, and though he will be missed, we all wish him good luck, good health, and I might say in an endearing way, "good golfing" in the future.

I might also say that Charlie Egenroad has served under three chairmen of the committee: Senator J. W. Fulbright, former Senator A. Willis Robertson and, of course, the incumbent chairman, me.

MAJOR GENERAL SUTTON RETIRES

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, Maj. Gen. William J. Sutton will soon retire as Chief, U.S. Army Reserve, and I wish to pay tribute to this outstanding soldier and patriot. He is due the thanks of a grateful Nation for his distinguished service with the U.S. Army and as Chief, U.S. Army Reserve. He has a host of admirers in the State of Alabama including all of the members of the Alabama congressional delegation in the House and Senate.

The Department of Alabama, ROA has recently saluted Major General Sutton in the following language:

A SALUTE

On the occasion of His Retirement, the Department of Alabama, Reserve Officers Association, proudly salutes Major General William J. Sutton, Chief of the Army Reserve. General Sutton's untiring defense of the Reserve Program and his unflagging efforts in behalf of the nation's defense qualify him as a true modern Minute Man. General Sutton cared enough for his belief in the Reserves to put his own career on the line in challenging powerful forces who would have abolished the Reserve Program as we know it.

His courage in standing up for what he believed was in the highest traditions of the nation and those who have defended it throughout its history.

As the first Chief of the Army Reserve since Congress gave the position permanent status, General Sutton continues to carry out his duties with the same zeal and distinction which marked his efforts in the years preceding Congressional sanction of his office. He continues to work tirelessly in improving the Reservists' position in the defense structure.

Knowing this, the Department of Alabama, ROA, salutes a singularly distinguished American, Major General William J. Sutton.

THE SILENT PALESTINIANS

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, there are many aspects of the present status of negotiations in the Middle East that have been of particular concern in public debate. However, as a New York Times editorial points out, little attention has been given to the involvement of the Palestinians in reaching a settlement.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the May 26, 1971, edition of the New York Times be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE SILENT PALESTINIANS

Secretary of State Rogers' effort to promote a disengagement along the Suez Canal as a

first step toward a Middle East settlement has tend to divert attention from other key issues in the Arab-Israeli dispute. One of these concerns the future of two-and-a-half-million restive Palestinians. The Palestinian cause has also been eclipsed lately by the defeat and dispersal of Palestinian guerrilla forces in Jordan and because of deep divisions within the Palestinian leadership.

It would be a serious mistake, however, to conclude that the disruptive potential of the guerrilla movement has been permanently destroyed or to imagine that any agreement negotiated in the Middle East can endure if the aspirations of the Palestinians as a people are ignored.

King Hussein's recent military victories over the *Jedayan* are due at least in part to the substantial withdrawal of support from the guerrilla movement by Arab states which have begun to see in the Rogers initiatives hope for a diplomatic solution to their problems. If that hope should be destroyed or, as one Jordanian scholar put it, "if the guns start firing on the Suez Canal again, the *Jedayan* will be racing down the main streets of Amman."

To complete the rout of Palestinian extremism, which has done so much over the year to exacerbate conflict in the Middle East, it will be necessary not only to maintain the momentum toward peace but to begin at an early date to include in the negotiations for a settlement some spokesmen for the more moderate, relatively silent majority of Palestinians.

It is unfortunate that during his recent visit to the area, Secretary Rogers apparently ignored petitions for a hearing from West Bank Palestinians who have courageously rejected the noncompromising position of the guerrilla leaders but who do not accept King Hussein as their spokesman either. Their plea for Palestinian self-determination on the West Bank under international supervision, free from pressure from Israel or Jordan, deserves the sympathetic hearing in the United States and the United Nations that it has already received in some quarters in Israel.

**THE SPACE RACE: DO WE LET THE
RUSSIANS MAKE OUR DECISIONS
FOR US?**

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, a few weeks ago a column by Mike Hughes appeared in the Wisconsin Sun Prairie Star-Countryman entitled "Onward to Mars." The column is a spoof about how this Nation can be prodded into new space and defense programs by Russian moves in these areas--wholly without any inquiry whether such programs are actually needed.

For example, the author conjures up a speech by a Soviet official in which he refers to Jules Verne's *Pastorale Voyage*, a novel about a space crew which is miniaturized and injected into man's bloodstream. The Soviet official says:

How strange it is, when fiction and non-fiction blend into one. This very process has been nearly perfected by the Soviet Union.

Later in the day, after the Soviet announcement is reported in the United States, a prominent Senator takes the floor of the Senate to proclaim:

We must be the first nation to land a man on the liver.

The same thing happens in the House of Representatives, where a ranking Congressman is heard to declare:

I'm not going to have no g--- d--- commie walking around on my spleen.

C.I.A. SAID TO DOUBT PENTAGON'S VIEW ON MISSILE THREAT

Senate G.O.P. Sources Say
Agency Thinks Soviet Silos
Are for Existing Arms

PROTECTIVE STEP SEEN

Moscow Is Believed to Be
'Hardening' Installations
for Its SS-11's

By JOHN W. FINNEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 25 —

Senate Republican sources reported today that the Central Intelligence Agency concluded that at least two-thirds of the large new silo holes recently detected in the Soviet Union were intended for the relatively small SS-11 intercontinental missile and not for a large new weapon as the Defense Department has suggested.

This assessment casts a different light on Moscow's strategic intentions at a crucial time in the negotiations with the Soviet Union to achieve some limitation on defensive and offensive strategic weapons.

It now appears to some arms control specialists that the Soviet Union, rather than seeking to achieve a first-strike capability against the United States with large new missiles, is following the American course of trying to protect its missiles against attack with "hardened" silos.

60 New Silos Detected

Some 60 large new missile silos in the Soviet Union have been detected in recent months by means of reconnaissance satellites. The C.I.A. was said to have concluded that at least two-thirds were intended for the SS-11 intercontinental missile, which is comparable to the Minuteman ICBM of the United States.

Some non-Governmental sources with access to Central Intelligence Agency information said that all but 15 of the new holes were situated in existing SS-11 missile fields.

The Senate Republican sources said they had been informed of the C.I.A. assessment by non-Governmental arms control experts who earlier had been briefed by the intelligence agency. These sources declined to be identified by name.

The Defense Department declined today to comment on the reported C.I.A. assessment because, as a department spokesman put it, "We would not have any comment on a speculative report like that."

But the spokesman said the department still held to the interpretation that the Soviet Union was deploying a modified version of its large SS-9 intercontinental missile or an entirely new missile system.

Much of the concern and speculation over the intended purpose for the new silos has sprung from their unusual size.

According to data obtained by the satellites, the holes were larger than those that had previously been dug for the SS-9, a large intercontinental missile that Defense Department officials have suggested the Soviet Union may be deploying as a "first strike" weapon against the United States's Minuteman force. This in turn gave rise to official speculation that the Soviet Union was planning to deploy an improved version of the SS-9 or perhaps an even larger, more powerful weapon.

Senator Henry M. Jackson, who first disclosed the detection of the new silo holes on a national television program March 7, said at the time that "the Russians are now in the process of deploying a new generation, an advanced generation of offensive systems." The Washington Democrat, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, described the development as "ominous indeed."

The Defense Department took a somewhat more cautious interpretation, saying that it had detected new ICBM construction but was not sure what the Soviet Union's intentions were.

But in a television appearance on March 10, Melvin R. Laird, the Secretary of Defense, said that the silo construction "confirms the fact that the Soviet Union is going forward with construction of a large missile system."

"We cannot tell at this time whether it is a modified version of the SS-9... or whether it is an entirely new missile system," he said.

Secretary Gives Warning

Then, in a speech April 22 before the American Newspaper Publishers Association, Mr. Laird said the United States had fresh intelligence information "confirming the sobering fact that the Soviet Union is involved in a new—and apparently extensive—ICBM construction program."

He warned that if this Soviet missile build-up continued, the Defense Department might find it necessary to seek a supplementary appropriation for more strategic weapons.

Last week, Administration officials were reported to have said that the Soviet Union was pressing ahead with its new missile program so rapidly that test firings of an improved SS-9 or an entirely new and larger missile were expected by this summer.

On the basis of new intelligence information, the C.I.A. was said today to have concluded that the larger holes could be explained not by a Soviet move to a larger missile but by an engineering step intended to protect the existing Soviet missile force.

According to the intelligence agency's analysis, the larger holes can be explained as an effort to "harden the silos, by emplacement of a concrete shell around them, to protect the weapons against the blast effects of a nuclear explosion. The larger hole is required to accommodate the concrete liners, according to the C.I.A. analysis.

Old Missile Fields Utilized

It was said that the first evidence that the Soviet Union might be "hardening" its missile sites rather than developing a new missile system appeared in the fact that the new holes were detected primarily in existing SS-11 missile fields.

If the Soviet Union was deploying a new weapon, it presumably would not situate the new missile emplacements among older missiles, according to the C.I.A. view.

The conclusive piece of evidence was said to have been received early last week when reconnaissance satellite pictures were received showing silo liners arriving at the missile holes. The photographs were said to have indicated that the liners at neither the SS-11 nor the SS-9 sites were big enough to accommodate larger

sites did not seem intended for weapons of altered design.

The United States started hardening its Minuteman silos some years ago as it saw the Soviet Union expanding its ICBM forces, and then began "superhardening" them as the Soviet Union began deploying the SS-9 missile.

Some arms control specialists now maintain that the Soviet Union now is turning to hardening its SS-11 and SS-9 missiles as it sees the United States deploying multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles, or multiple warheads, known as MIRV's, which potentially could acquire the accuracy to strike precisely at Soviet missile sites.

This was a point made today before the Senate Appropriations Committee by Dr. Herbert Scoville Jr., a former official of the C.I.A. and the

Disarmament and Arms Control Agency, now chairman of the Strategic Weapons Committee of the Federation of American Scientists.

A hardening of the Soviet missile sites, he observed "would not contribute to a first-strike capability and, if anything, would be an indication that a first strike was not a critical Soviet policy objective."

If it now turns out that the Soviet Union is only hardening the SS-9 and SS-11 missile silos, he said, "We must ask ourselves how many times we are going to allow the 'weaponers' to come before the Congress and the people shouting 'missile gap,' when in reality they are only creating another 'credibility gap.'"

Jackson, Henry
Laird, Melvin
CIA, O3 Scoville, Herbe
Org 1 Federation of
American Scientists

28 MAY 87

Russia's New Missile Silos Considered Defensive by CIA

By JOHN W. FINNEY
New York Times News Service

The Central Intelligence Agency has concluded that at least two-thirds of the large new silo holes detected in the Soviet Union are intended for the relatively small SS11 intercontinental missile and not for a large new weapon as has been suggested by the Defense Department.

This CIA assessment, reported yesterday by Senate Republican sources, casts a new and different light on Soviet strategic intentions at a crucial time in the negotiations to achieve some limitation on defensive and offensive strategic weapons.

60 Detected

Rather than seeking to achieve a first-strike capability against the United States with large new missiles—as was suggested by some officials after the detection of the large new missile holes—it now appears to some arms control specialists that the Soviet Union is following the U.S. course of trying to protect its missiles against attack with "hardened" silos.

Some 60 large new missile silos have been detected through reconnaissance satellites in recent months in the Soviet Union. The CIA was said to have concluded that at least two thirds were intended for the SS11 intercontinental missile, which is comparable to the U.S. Minuteman ICBM. More specifically, some non-governmental sources with access to CIA intelligence information said all but 15 of the new holes were located in existing SS11 missile fields.

Informants Not Identified

The Senate GOP sources said they had been informed by non-governmental arms control experts who, in turn, had been briefed by the CIA. Out of a concern not to offend the Nixon

administration, these Republican sources declined to be identified by name.

The Defense Department declined to comment on the reported CIA assessment because, as a spokesman put it, "We would not have any comment on a

speculative report like that."

But the spokesman said the Pentagon still held to the interpretation that the Soviet Union was deploying a modified version of its large SS9 intercontinental missile or an entirely new missile system.